III. SOCIAL LIFE

Social Units

The units with which Rąmkõ'kamekra individuals may be affiliated are manifold. They include (a) the individual family; (b) the matrilineal extended family; (c) matrilineal exogamous moieties; (d) nonexogamous rainy season moieties; (e) the plaza groups; (f) the plaza moieties; (g) the age classes; (h) the age-class moieties; (i) six men's societies.

Of these, the first four embrace both sexes, the remainder only men except that most of the primarily masculine organizations have each two girl associates. Membership in the matrilineal extended family and the exogamous moieties is hereditary; in the rainy season moieties, the plaza groups, and the plaza moieties it is hereditary in the sense that it hinges on the bearing of certain names transmitted from an older kinsman. An age class is constituted by joint initiation into adult status. Admission into the Clown society depends on one's talent for buffoonery; into the other societies a male enters by virtue of his names, which determine affiliation of an individual with two of the five organizations.

To the social bonds listed above may be added those involving formalized friendship; these, too, are largely connected with name transference.

Finally, there is an honorific order of hąmrén, which includes both sexes.

Since membership in a number of the units listed above depends on personal names, it seems well to premise some data on their acquisition and their relationship with the units in question.

Names

Every masculine or feminine name belongs to one of the rainy season moieties—kạ'makra and atụ'kmakra. Every masculine name belongs to one of the six plaza groups, Giant Snake, Bat, Carrion Vulture (eastern) and Armadillo, Dwarf Parrot, Alien Tribe (western); only two members of the female sex, the pepyé associates, belong to a plaza group, invariably to the Bats and the Dwarf Parrots. Every masculine name involves affiliation with two festive societies—either the Falcons and Jaguars (or the kõkrị't), or the Ducks and Agoutis; the girl associates of these organizations serve only for one ceremonial period.

Of the ten name sets none coincides with any other. The principle for their composition is not clear. Membership in the Clowns' organization and the tąmhạ'k is independent of names borne.

A number of masculine as well as feminine names are paired, establishing a formalized friendship, which, however, may be achieved in other ways.

Every individual, irrespective of sex, successively acquires from two to eight names. As a rule, the entire set borne by an individual is linked with a single one of the units mentioned above. In exceptional instances an individual receives a name that determines a change in one or more of the unit types.

The following is a noteworthy case. Hiino and his maternal uncle Yua (=Hiino) used to belong to the Bats (eastern plaza group), the atụ'kmakra (rainy season moiety), and the Falcon-kõkrị't pair of societies. At the time of Hiino's pepyé initiation, it devolved on his plaza group to erect for him a hut for seclusion, its yard, and a latrine, but its members limited their efforts to building the hut. This so angered Yua that he left his eastern plaza group and joined the Armadillos (western). Henceforth the names Yua and Hiino no longer belong to the Bat, but to the Armadillo series. However, both men retained membership in the atụ'kmakra and the Falcon-kõkrị't organizations.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

Names are transferred to boys through the matrilineal line, to girls through the patrilineal line. This contrasts with Apinayé usage, by which names are transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son and from maternal aunt to sister's daughter.[109] Normally the Canella name passes on to the next younger generation, but often one or even two generations are skipped and occasionally when the age difference is considerable the transfer may take place within a generation. The *ideal* arrangement is to have a maternal uncle convey his names to his nephew while the paternal aunt transfers hers to her niece. But of twenty-eight cases genealogically traced only five strictly conformed to this norm. The deviations result at least in part from the insistence on reciprocity. Unless the uncle has a daughter to whom his sister could pass on her own names, she would not permit the transfer of names to her son. Instead she would look for a more remote kinsman, with whom a *reciprocal* transfer could be arranged. The degree of kinship is often very remote in these name transfers. Adopted kindred are reckoned exactly as though they were blood kin in these negotiations. Pųkín transferred her name to the daughter of her adoptive brother, Hąktõkót; Tempe gave his to the son of his adoptive sister, Terekwę'i.

Copaternity has its effect in this respect. At Patkwei's birth her mother Kopkrê indicated not only her husband, but also Hukraino as the infant's father because he had had extramarital relations with her during pregnancy. Accordingly both observed the couvade, and each considers himself Patkwei's father. In consequence Patkwei is the sister of Hukraino's legal son, Kroyamri, and passed on her name to his daughter, while Kroyamri gave *his* name to Patkwei's son. Similarly, at Pukara's birth, both Kokcet, her mother's husband, and Kokanara, who had been her paramour, kept the couvade. Pukara thus became the sister of Kokanara's son, Ropką', and passed her name on to his daughter.

As a rule a single donor transfers his names to a single recipient. But if the donor dies before passing on all his names, another person takes his place, now transferring his own names to the recipient. In this fashion several persons change their membership in the plaza groups or rainy season moieties or both. If an individual owns names of different sets, he almost always transfers those of one set to one recipient, the others to a second person. The recipient thus acquires once more names belonging together. A typical sample of this process is furnished by Yoro, who owned eight names belonging to three plaza groups and both rainy season moieties. He thus distributed them among four relatives:

Names	Plaza groups (w., western; e., eastern)	Rainy season moiety	Relatives
Yõ'ro	Dwarf Parrot (w)	atų'k	1
Ropką'	Ditto	atų'k	1
Põnipõ'k	Ditto	atų'k	2
Pąrkadą'	Alien Tribe (w)	ką'	3
Hąktõkót	Giant Snake (e)	ką'	4
Tepkakrõ'	Ditto	ką'	4
Tepnót	Ditto	ką'	4
Vaurẽ'	Ditto	ką'	4

I found no case in which the same donor passed on ką' and atų'k names to the same kinsman; on the other hand, in three instances the same person passed on

[109] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 22.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

553 575 616 611

the names of different plaza groups—in one case, even of distinct plaza moieties—to the same recipient.

Of twenty males, only four acquired their names from several donors. On the other hand, half of an equal number of females obtained theirs in this fashion, though only a single case involved a change of the rainy season moiety.

The woman numbered 20 below obtained the name Kra'napan, by which she is generally known, from the neighboring Krẽyé of Bacabal. This name is not to be transferred.

The list on pages 80, 81, and 82 gives the name series of twenty men and of twenty women with plaza group and rainy season moiety affiliations. Those names transferred by a single person are bracketed.

Some additional facts concerning name transference are given below.

Mĩkrõ'-Kapẽrtụ'k-Koprekré transferred his first name to the son of his sister's daughter. He hoped to pass on his other names to two other great-nephews, but had only one other, Čikapró, who had already received a name from another kinsman. After his great-uncle's death Mĩkrõ' junior claimed the two remaining names without himself using them, but with the prerogative of transferring them.

Terekwẹ'i-Piekóm passed on her first name to her paternal grandfather's daughter's son's daughter and died before being able to transfer the second. Terekwẹ'i junior claims the name Piekóm, but it must die with her because her brother's daughters have already all received names from other kinswomen.

Wakái did not pass his name on to his sister's son because he had no daughter on whom his sister Pieką'ra might bestow her names.

Yaučẽkẹ' did not transfer her name to her brother's daughter because she died before her niece's birth.

Exogamous Moieties

616

Each of these moieties occupies one-half of the village—the kọ'ikateye (kọ'i = east, hence: those of the east) the eastern part of the circle, the harą̃'kateye (harą̃ = west, hence: those of the west) the western part, which in Ponto was somewhat larger. The children all belong to the mother's moiety. Although about a third of contemporary marriages are within the same moiety and the younger generation in part even deny the reality of the exogamous rule, the older people deprecate such shamelessness and the preponderance of exogamous unions among them proves that the principle survived until not very long ago.

The moieties are altogether equal in rank; specifically, the eastern moiety is in no way superior. Unlike the Šerénte equivalents the Canella units are not associated with sun and moon. Further, members are not distinguished by any external badges, and there is no trace of totemism.

616 182

The moieties under discussion centered solely in the maintenance of exogamy; their ceremonial significance is practically nil. Their decadence is probably due not so much to Neobrazilian influence or the diminishing population as to the pronounced predilection of the Canella for special dual divisions in connection with ceremonial. Comparison with the organization of other tribes suggests that the functions now allotted to the rainy season and the plaza moieties, respectively, were formerly associated with the *exogamous* moieties. The creation of independent dual divisions for these purposes inevitably stripped the exogamous halves of much of their importance.

616 114

Snethlage erroneously ascribes a separate chief to each of the moieties and wrongly regards the age classes as their subdivisions, whereas any one age class embraces members of both moieties. It is not true that the first and the second chiefs

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

MALES

Names	Plant group (w., western; e., eastern)	Rainy season moiety
1. Korã	Alien Tribe (w.)	kạ′
Põkon	Ditto	kạ′
Kaškúm	Ditto	kạ′
2. Čarča	Armadillo (w.)	atụ′k
Rõtjt	Ditto	atụ′k
3. Ku′kóp	Carrion Vulture (e.)	kạ′
Pepkén	Ditto	kạ′
Hạpít	Ditto	kạ′
Pạnatẽk	Ditto	kạ′
4. Körẽk	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	kạ′
Katụ′pre	Ditto	kạ′
5. Pạrkõ	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atụ′k
Katạm	Ditto	atụ′k
6. Kara′hí	Carrion Vulture (e.)	kạ′
Huyipri	Ditto	atụ′k
7. Tunko	Carrion Vulture (e.)	kạ′
Čepkạ	Ditto	kạ′
Krạmpọdn	Ditto	kạ′
8. Yõ′ro	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atụ′k
Ropkạ′	Ditto	atụ′k
Põnjpõ′k	Ditto	atụ′k
Pạrkačạ′	Alien Tribe (w.)	kạ′
Hạktõkót	Giant Snake (e.)	kạ′
Tepkakrõ′	Ditto	kạ′
Tepnót	Ditto	kạ′
Vaurẽ′	Ditto	kạ′
9. Yõ′ro	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atụ′k
Ropkạ′	Ditto	atụ′k
10. Hạktõkót	Giant Snake (e.)	kạ′
Tepkakrõ′	Ditto	kạ′
Tepnót	Ditto	kạ′
Vaurẽ′	Ditto	kạ′
11. Ku′kạ′	Alien Tribe (w.)	atụ′k
Hõyavẽ′n	Ditto	atụ′k
Horkučạ	Ditto	atụ′k
12. Vi′vi	Carrion Vulture (e.)	kạ′
Nõ	Ditto	kạ′
13. Mikrõ′	Alien Tribe (w.)	atụ′k
Kopkré	Ditto	atụ′k
Kapẽrtụ′k	Armadillo (w.)	atụ′k

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

MALES—(*Continued*)

Names	Plaza group (w., western; e., eastern)	Rainy season moiety
14. Koipõ'ro	Alien Tribe (w.)	atų'k
Akarẽą	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
15. Mĩkrõ'	Alien Tribe (w.)	atų'k
Koipõ'ro	Ditto	atų'k
16. Rõrehõ	Carrion Vulture (e.)	atų'k
Kạ'kúru	Ditto	atų'k
17. Krõtõ'	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
Nyukrardn	Ditto	atų'k
18. Kenkré	Alien Tribe (w.)	atų'k
Haką'	Bat (e.)	atų'k
Pitó	Carrion Vulture (e.)	atų'k
19. Ha'pré	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
Yatrą'e	Bat (e.)	ką'
20. Parkré	Bat (e.)	ką'
Čątũ	Ditto	ką'
Vẽnyo	Ditto	ką'

FEMALES

Names	Rainy season moiety	Names	Rainy season moiety
1. Kanẽrkwéi	ką'	8. Ho'ti	ką'
Ha'katą'i	ką'	Kahẽrkwę'i	ką'
2. Partųk	ką'	9. Krąmpéy	atų'k
Wakę'	ką'	Te'hõk	atų'k
Nyõčédn	ką'		
		10. Pųkín	atų'k
3. Murvá	atų'k	Prjrẽ	atų'k
Prjkwę'i	atų'k	Ko'hõk	atų'k
4. Purãkwéi	ką'	11. Terekwę'i	atų'k
Yõčédn	ką'	Mĩkwéi	atų'k
		Krũcą	atų'k
5. Kąyarí	ką'		
Kakrõ'	ką'	12. Põkó	atų'k
Kukrãyét	ką'	Pipų'n	atų'k
		Kačẽkwę'i	atų'k
6. Koté	ką'	Põhjkwę'i	atų'k
Krowačá	ką'		
		13. Nyunkré	ką'
7. Mĩkwéi	atų'k	Konkré	ką'
Kąryapą'	atų'k		

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS
Awei Koma SM2
T 616 553

FEMALES

Names	Baby names moiety	Names	Baby names moiety
14. Kapẽrkwę'i	kę'	19. Nyõkí	kę'
Kayazí	kę'	Paõédn	kę'
		Rekwę'i	kę'
15. Kęryapę	atų'k	Rõtí	kę'
Nyõkęakré	atų'k		
		20. Nyõ'hoeõí	kę'
16. Kõrõ'da	atų'k	Hakatę'i	kę'
Yątkró	atų'k	Krę'napę'n	kę'
Koté	atų'k	Tekurę'	kę'
		Yekutá	kę'
17. Ikurõ	atų'k	Kahẽrkwę'i	kę'
Teprã	kę'	Pahĩk	kę'
Yoõę'n	kę'		
18. Yõkrąnkré	kę'		
Teprã	kę'		

T 616 114

of Ponto represent complementary exogamous units for they happen to be brothers. Nor can I understand the same author's report of a dispute over trespass between two eminent men of different moieties, for the land is not the property of the moieties, but of the tribe, that is, of the village community. Finally, the assertion that each moiety is "under the supreme rule of the commandant of its age class" reveals a basic misunderstanding.[207]

T 616 171

While the matrilineal moieties of the Apinayé do not regulate marriage,[208] comparable organizations occur in other parts of Brazil. According to a provisional statement of Claude Lévi-Strauss's researches, the Tupí of the Machado River have exogamous patrilineal moieties coupled with a double division in age classes.[209] The Šerénte have exogamous patrilineal moieties associated with north and south and subdivided into clans localized in the village.[210] The Eastern Bororó also have a southern and northern moiety, but with maternal descent; each embraces seven localized clans.[211] The Tukuna have patrilineal moieties with fifteen and twenty-one clans, none of them localized.[212] The Parintintin also have unlocalized patrilineal moieties.[213] The patrilineal moieties of the Mundurucú are split up into nineteen and fifteen clans, respectively.[214] Tembé Indians of the Rio Acará interviewed by Estevão de Oliveira made statements suggesting patrilineal localized moieties (east and west).

A 616

According to my own investigations, the Kaingang proper trace their descent from two heroes, Kamé and Kanyerú, associated with patrilineal, unlocalized moieties having distinctive decorative paint. The Kamé moiety is characterized by a pattern of lines, its complement by dotted decoration. Further, each moiety is subdivided into at least three classes, which modify the moiety designs: the paí appl

[207] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 167–169.
[208] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 21.
[209] Métraux, 34.
[210] Nimuendajú and Lowie, Associations of Šerénte, 408 *et seq.*
[211] Colbacchini, 1–30. Cf. Lévi-Strauss, 269–304.
[212] Nimuendajú, Idiomas, 188.
[213] *Idem.*, The Gamella, 225.
[214] P. Kruse, 18, 19.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

The members of a house community of the type described are obviously closer to one another than to outsiders at large, but they fail to constitute a definite economic unit among the Timbira. The plantations of the residents are ordinarily in juxtaposition, but every married woman has her own plots and the house community as such has no property apart from the domicile.

However, the entire group will safeguard the individual's rights against any injustice from the outside. On one occasion, for example, a man treated his wife badly and deserted her, whereupon her extended family met for prolix deliberations and tried to force the renegade to pay an indemnity. In this sense the safety of the individual rests on his affiliation with the major family, and during disputes one often hears such threats as: "I have a large body of kindred." To tell a man to his face that he lacks kin is an affront.

On the other hand, the house community plays not the slightest role in ceremonial. Further it lacks a genuine head. Theoretically the grandmother should occupy that position, but this obtains in a small minority of cases because with increasing age her daughters grow dominant. Actually the main part devolves on some matrilineal grandfather or uncle, who may not even live in the house. A matriarchate and the enslavement of women are notions equally foreign to the Timbira.

Snethlage has correctly grasped the nature of this unit.[170]

Rainy Season Moieties[171]

During the meipimrą'k period, that is, from September to April—in other words, roughly during the rainy season—there are no major festivals. It is accompanied by a distinctive dual division which coincides with neither the exogamous moieties, nor the plaza moieties, nor the age-class moieties—notwithstanding the fact that it, too, is connected with the antithesis of east and west. The two groups are called ką'makra and atų'kmakra, that is, people (kra) of the plaza (ką') and people from without (atų'k). The Indians are unable to explain these designations. The female members are termed ką'kwęiye and atų'kkwęiye.

All of nature is antithetically divided between the two groups, as indicated by the following incomplete scheme.

ką̨makra		atų'makra	
East	Fire	West	Firewood
Sun	Earth	Moon	Water
Day	Red color	Night	Black color
Dry season		Rainy season	

This dichotomy does not involve the opposition of the sexes, but extends to animals and plants: all species that are black or show marked black coloring fall into the atų'k category; all those conspicuously red or white are ką'. Maize and manioc are ką', the sweet potato and cucurbit atų'k; yams are, according to the species, divided up between the two groups. The Indians justify the allocation of the celestial bodies by referring to the sun's rising in the east and to the new moon's in the west.

Affiliation with a rainy season moiety hinges on a person's names, which inevitably place him in one or the other category. The name sets are transferred by the same principle that determines allocation to a plaza group; a man transfers his

[170] Meine Reise, 464. Nordostbras. Ind., 170.

[171] It may in the future prove useful in ethnological literature to call "nonexogamous" moieties "agamic" or "agamous." These terms, already in vogue among biologists, would better designate moieties that are neither exogamous nor endogamous. R. H. L.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1938) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

names to a sister's son, a woman to her brother's daughter. However, the sets of the kạ'makra and the atụ'kmakra differ from those of the plaza groups, as well as from those hereditary within an exogamous moiety. Actually, only five out of twenty-eight cases genealogically examined literally conformed to the ideal pattern. In practice, one generation, or even two, may be skipped in favor of a younger kinsman; and occasionally there is a transfer within the same generation if the individuals affected are separated by a considerable disparity of age. The deviations from the ideal scheme are connected with a principle of reciprocity already explained (p. 78).

In the process of name transference a person may change his rainy season moiety affiliation. A paternal aunt had transferred to her brother's daughter the kạ' name Kentapí, but died before being able to convey her other names to the girl. As a result another patrilineal kinswoman took the deceased aunt's place; but she was atụ'k, hence the first name, Nyõkí, which she conveyed to the girl automatically made the niece an atụ'kkwẹiye.

The moieties now under discussion differ in decorative paint. The kạ'makra are distinguished by a red angle whose apex lies at the upper end of the breastbone while the sides terminate on the shoulders; furthermore, by horizontal black lines on the body and limbs. The atụ'kmakra lack the angle, and substitute vertical black lines.

The kạ' battle cry is "wa-wa-wa!" that of the atụ'kmakra "kẹ-kẹ-kẹ!" The birth of a new kạ' or atụ'k boy is thus heralded by the maternal uncle or grandmother's brother who is to pass on his names to the infant: this man steps outside the door and calls loudly the characteristic rainy season cry.

Each group is headed by a commandant appointed by the council, and his mother's house becomes the place of assembly for the membership. The kạ' headman bears the title of ikạ'rkate (kạ'ra = ready), that is, he who is ready; the atụ'k counterpart is called kačũnkate, a term that has remained untranslatable.

The practical significance of this dichotomy is restricted to the log races and hunting trips of the meipimrạ'k period. In the races the male members of the opposing halves—in one instance, the women too—constitute the teams. A race takes place the very first day after the close of the ceremonial period (see p. 168). Not until after this race are the men of the two groups properly divided in the plaza, where all sit down in a circle, whose eastern half is occupied by the kạ'makra, while the atụ'kmakra are on the western side. For the songs the best kạ' log racer beats time with his coiled-up rattle girdle.

Then follow the log races, but in a very different manner from the first one just described. At first the kạ'makra as challengers make the logs, the first pair not exceeding about 12 cm. in diameter and a somewhat lesser length. With each successive race the size rapidly increases until after about a fortnight the normal dimensions are attained, that is, about 50 cm. in diameter and 1 m. in length. The first pair of the kạ'makra has red longitudinal lines on the surface and on each terminal plane there is a concentric red patch, whereas the atụ'k equivalent has a wide diametric black stripe.

As soon as the kạ' logs have attained normal size the challenging henceforth devolves on the atụ'kmakra until the close of the rainy season. The first atụ'k pair is, if possible, even of lesser diameter than the first kạ' logs, but the length is greater, being close to 1 m. from the start. The decorative painting of the initial atụ'k pair is as described above.

Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

A child usually does not get its first name until several months after birth; I have seen children about a year old who were still nameless.

The significance of the names varies considerably and has nothing to do with the bearer's individuality since they are inherited. Except for Ka'tę'm, which may be applied to either sex, the masculine and the feminine names are distinct. Many girls' names terminate in the feminine suffix -kwę'i. The following may serve as samples:

Masculine	Feminine
Kaĕkum, Star haze	Kaĕkwę'i, Star girl
Čępką, Bat skin	Pątkwĕ'i, Sun girl
Ropką, Jaguar skin	Pąrãkwĕ'i, Girl of the urucú blossom
Kapĕrtųk, Black bacaba	Kõredn, Spilled water
Čątú, Fox belly	Teprã, Small fish (species)
Tepyet, Hanging fish	Paĕédn, Pretty arm
Kukrãčą', Bees' nest	Kukrãyet, Hanging bees
Pądnhi, Arara bone	Te'hõk, Painted lower leg
Kenkum, Mountain fog	Kentapí, Road up a mountain
Kentetet, White mountain	Mĩkwę'i, Crocodile girl
Čąrčą, Place for broiling	Kahĕ'rkwę'i, Ground-nut girl
Hąktokót, Falcon (species)	Krãpey, Beautiful head

The first syllable serves as a pet name, for example, Kõ for Kõkaipó; Ken for Kentapí; Pądn for Pądnhi.

The name transfer always takes place in the plaza before sunrise, at the close of the morning dance. The ceremony does not arouse much excitement, but at this hour there are always many people present, especially the councilors. The donor, stands on one side, his hąpín on the other, the recipient (or, if he is a small child, his mother or aunt carrying him) in the middle. A councilor or chief steps in front of this group, turning his back to them and leaning on his club; then, while rocking from one foot to the other he calls out the name.

I acquired the name Kõkaipó as follows: The chief Major Delphino Kõkaipó had died while traveling a number of years ago before he had been able to transfer his name, so that it became extinct. This was generally regretted, especially because of the last bearer's popularity. Some time after my arrival, the councilors decided to adopt me into the community as the first non-Indian and availed themselves of this exceptional case to revive the name.

Immediately after the morning dance, chief Kukrãčą' summoned the entire village to the plaza, where the council first held a short conference concerning the affair. Then Kukrãčą', the deceased Kõkaipó's junior brother, took up a position on my right, and Čątú, the dead man's special hąpín, on my left. Chief Hąktokót stood in front of us and all faced west, that is, in the direction of the village half belonging to the complementary exogamous moiety. Leaning on his long burity staff Hąktokót delivered a loud and passionate address, which at that time I was unable to follow, and announced the name. The audience responded with loud shouting and a blast of trumpets.

After the ceremony my deceased namesake's three sisters came up to tell me how glad they were over the revival of the name and my now being their brother. One of them introduced her little son, who at once merrily addressed me as "kedti" (maternal uncle) and to whom I was expected at some future time to convey the name, as I actually did some years later.

Strangely enough certain objects of importance also receive personal names, for example, ceremonial lances (krowačwa). When in 1935 I presented the tribe with

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

X796 527 575

Shortly after midday the kõkrĵ't don their costumes and slowly move toward the village in Indian file. The first to appear on the wide street connecting the village and the mask shed is Ihõkẽ'n, the clown. As soon as he appears on the horizon, women and girls gather at the junction of the masqueraders' street and the boulevard. A delegate of the kõkrĵ't, but not a member, was carrying a gun and admonished these expectant spectators to preserve the peace: they were not to run out of the village to meet the kõkrĵ't, but were to wait on the boulevard, refraining from disputes over the ceremonial office of "maternity" (see below). In the meantime Ihõkẽ'n came trotting up and, on entering the boulevard, was surrounded by the girls, one of whom succeeded in tying to his horn a small beaded and tasseled bowl. This made her the clown's "mother" during the period of the festival. Ihõkẽ'n boxed the compass of the street, halting before every door and making his horns swing to and fro there. Then he ran back again on the masqueraders' street, and thus constantly back and forth between the slowly approaching Mummers and the village.

Finally the long line of kõkrĵ't arrived on the boulevard, headed by their leader in the kenpéy mask. In eager competition the waiting women and girls hurried to fasten to a horn of each mask some small ornament as a badge, such as had already been received by the clown. Those Mummers who recognized in the donors their sisters or pinčwẽ'i mutely declined the gifts by a deprecatory gesture. Then, still in Indian file, they went on along the boulevard toward their lodge, where they doffed their disguises. Then they went bathing, ate, and rested, for the costumes are so hot and heavy that the wearers perspire profusely and rapidly tire.

[145]

Chants.—After a while the costumes were put on again, and a dance rattle was tied to the Tõkaivẽu, who ran in front of the house of a precentor, calling him out by stamping his feet and by movement of the slit. The Mummer extended the rattle on his horn toward the precentor, who removed it and accompanied him to the meeting house. In front of this the kõkrĵ't formed a circle around their two girl associates, the women who had preceded them in office in 1924, and the precentor; a fifth girl participated in the ceremony from sheer sympathy with the Mummers. The masqueraders began to quaver and hum, whereupon the girls in a clear voice began to sing in a slow tempo to the accompaniment of the dance rattle. The Mummers merely hummed while rocking their bodies from one foot to the other. Then the circle resolved itself into a line, which slowly marched around the boulevard in single file toward the right, halting now and then, forming a circle, and singing: "čiprõkatẽ iyerẽre mae!" (čiprõ = swallow; -rẽ = past?). An Espóra and a Tõkaivẽu were in the meantime running from house to house, mutely inviting the girls to the dance in the plaza. The kõkrĵ't then, together with the maskless youths, danced humming in front of the singing girls, the two groups forming, respectively, the right and the left wing of the dancers.

527 575 553

Name giving.—After this dance the Mummers returned to the boulevard, where they remained standing at a point diametrically opposite their lodge. In the meantime the Clown society assembled in the plaza. One of them ran up to the masqueraders, seized their leader by his fringe, and dragged him some seventy meters along the boulevard. There he gave him a nickname and left him. A second Clown ran up, seized and led a second Mummer to the same spot and likewise conferred a nickname on him. The next two Clowns each dragged three Mummers there simultaneously and named them. Then one of the girl associates of the Clowns brought a masquerader thither, and so on until all the kõkrĵ't were reunited and had received their first sobriquet.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

Thereupon a Clown again took the leader some seventy meters farther, the rest being subsequently led there singly, in pairs or in trios, to receive their second nickname. In this way the semicircle to the Mummers' lodge was traversed in six stages, each masquerader receiving six sobriquets amid the constant mischief-making and yelling of the Clowns. Most of the names referred to some ridiculous peculiarity of the sexual organs.

Next the masqueraders collected food in the houses of their "mothers," which they brought to the chiefs and councilors in the plaza. For this purpose they carry under the costume a little basket suspended by a lug from the shoulder, also a wooden pin ½-m. long with which to spit the victuals offered and transfer them into the basket, for their hands must remain invisible.

Then the Mummers, singly and in small groups, played about the circle until after sunset, when they once more gathered at the spot diametrically opposite their meeting place. The radial path from this point to the plaza, as well as the one from the plaza to the kõkrį't lodge, had been specially widened to 6–7 m. for the organization. On this street the masqueraders now ran singly, one after another, transversely across the plaza to their lodge—Kenpéy slowly, Espóra and Tõkaivéu at a mad gallop. The two latter, without slowing up, dashed into the relatively small door, first deftly lowering one horn, then leaping sideways across the threshold, while lowering the other horn, and thus suddenly standing inside. Ihõkẽ'n, too, indulged in antics after his fashion, pretending that he was unable to find the door; twice he ran against the wall so as to fall down, finally he ran around the house and entered by the rear door.

Parade.—The following day at 5 P.M. the kõkrį't held the "penčę" parade. In a long Indian file they slowly marched from their lodge along its radial path nearly up to the plaza, returning in a line parallel to their own. Then they moved two or three houses farther along the boulevard, turned into the radius there, and continued in this way. Sometimes they would go to the plaza on one radius and return to the boulevard by the next, their long line executing parallel serpentine coils. Sometimes the Tõkaivéu would leave the line during this procession and run up and down in front of it.

Then the kõkrį't collected food from their "mothers," the married members transporting it to their wives, the bachelors consuming theirs in the meeting house.

Behavior of the Mummers.—Except for a muffled humming and a quavering in an undertone that occasionally becomes audible during their parades, the kõkrį't remain speechless, communication with one another and the villagers being by a patter or stamping of feet and by moving the edges of the vertical slit of the mask. They address and greet people by stamping their feet, summon them by protruding and retracting the margins of the slit (pl. 39, *c*). Rapid friction of the edges against each other betokens the request of a favor, for the Mummers are greatly given to mendicancy, even by the extremely lax Rąmkõ'kamekra standards (pl. 39, *d*). A gift is impaled on the wooden pin. They express gratification by dancing and by swinging of the fringe. If humiliated by a refusal, they lower their heads (pl. 39, *a*); when angered, they raise one horn menacingly against the offender (pl. 39, *b*).

Generally the Mummers run about singly or in small groups along the boulevard and its radii, the Tõkaivéu and Espóra always running most madly. In the evening a fire is kindled in front of the houses near which the masqueraders carry on their playing. None of them ever walks to a house by way of the boulevard; they invariably go first to the plaza and dash straight toward the door in question, where everyone gets out of the way of the menacing horns. Turning his body laterally and in